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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE  
Methods and Organization of Nazi Controls

~~GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE~~  
GERMAN LABOR CONTROLS IN OCCUPIED AREAS

Description

This paper is a section of a comprehensive study of German Military Government in Occupied Europe; it describes labor controls in occupied areas.

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21 January 1944

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German Labor Controls

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

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RESTRICTEDGERMAN LABOR CONTROLS IN OCCUPIED AREAS

In the present conflict the Germans are exploiting labor in the occupied areas on a scale hitherto unknown. Showing a total disregard for the Hague ruling<sup>1</sup> forbidding belligerents to compel the native population to engage in work connected with military operations, the Germans have created an elaborate system of controls to harness the manpower of the areas it has conquered for war purposes as well as for economic aggrandizement.

I. Objectives and Procedures of German Controls

The central purpose of German labor controls in the occupied areas is, of course, to serve the German war machine, with particular regard to the immediate needs of the armed forces, the manufacture of armaments and munitions, and the production and transportation of consumer goods in Germany and the occupied territory. Among these several purposes, the priority varies according to the war situation, the nature of the area, and its proximity to the front.

The objectives with respect to labor in occupied territory are pursued specifically by means of the three following procedures: (1) supervision and control of the native labor engaged in the particular occupied area; (2) the recruitment of foreign workers for Germany; (3) supervision and control of the German workers engaged in the area. Of these three tasks, the first two are the most important to the Reich.

A. Control over Native Labor

The first of these functions is performed by agencies generally called Labor Exchanges (Arbeitsämter), but occasionally appearing under other names such as Labor Agencies (Arbeitsdienststellen). In Holland, Belgium, France, Norway, and Denmark the Labor Exchanges are native agencies. It was hoped that in the Occupied East (Russia and the Baltic countries) native agencies could also be utilized, but it was found

<sup>1</sup> Hague Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land 154, Sec. II, Chap. 1, Article 22h.

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necessary to establish German Labor Offices, employing native personnel under German direction, such as had been established earlier in the General Government. While the primary purpose of the Labor Exchange, German or native, is to allocate and control native labor, they also serve to recruit foreign workers for labor in Germany. ✓

B. Recruitment of Labor for the Reich

The recruitment of foreign workers is the particular function of another set of German agencies. These also are known under various names: Recruiting Offices (Werbestellen), Recruiting Commissions (Werbekommissionen), and Fachwerber) etc.

Originally the supreme control of labor supply was in the hands of Friedrich Syrup, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Labor, head of the Geschäftsgruppe Arbeitseinsatz in the Four Year Plan, and an old civil servant. Under his administration, the Germans tended to encourage production for war needs in the factories of the occupied areas. However, as it became clear that the Russian armies could not be annihilated in 1941, the policy shifted toward one of the concentrating production within Germany itself. For this purpose the recruitment of more foreign labor for German factories became necessary. It was evidently felt that Syrup was inadequate to the new demands for, early in 1942, control of labor supply was taken from him and vested in ~~Werber~~<sup>3</sup> Mansfeld, head of Main Department Three in the Ministry of Labor. ✓ At any rate in late March, 1942, Mansfeld was removed from his new post.

At the same time, the Geschäftsgruppe Arbeitseinsatz in the Four Year Plan was abolished and in its place was established the Commissioner General for Labor Supply (Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz), which also was made an organ of the Four Year Plan. This new position was given to Fritz Sauckel, an old Nazi stalwart and a Gauleiter and Reichstatthalter of Thuringia. Goering transferred to Sauckel the powers over labor supply which Hitler had conferred upon Goering as Delegate of

the Four Year Plan. Authority was vested in Sauckel "to issue directions (Weisungsrechte) to the Supreme Reich authorities, to the offices under them, to the officers of the Party and its formations and affiliated associations, to the Reich Protector, the Governor General, the military commanders, and the Chiefs of Civil Administration."<sup>1</sup> Thus Sauckel became the czar of labor supply not only in Germany but also in all of Europe under Germany's control.

In April 1942 Sauckel appointed forty-two Gauleiter in Germany as his deputies in this function (Gaubeauftragter für den Arbeitseinsatz). This tendency manifested itself also in the summer of 1943, when the Regional Labor Exchanges in Germany became Gau Labor Exchanges (Gauarbeitshüter). At the same time, Sauckel reiterated the authority of the Gauleiter in labor questions.<sup>2</sup>

There is obviously a close connection in the occupied areas between the control of native labor and the recruitment of labor for work in Germany. Some of the Labor Exchanges are native agencies, but they are really instruments of German policy. German influence on the Labor Exchanges may be exercised by the German Recruiting Agencies or by offices higher in the German administrative structure.

When more workers are needed in Germany, the work day in the occupied area is lengthened and non-essential plants are closed. As the need grows, compulsory registration and the conscription of labor may be introduced, implemented by the requirement that every worker carry a "work book" or "work card" and by the restriction of ration cards to those workers who have such credentials. The major transition in these respects is to be found after the appointment of Sauckel in March 1942.

German policies with regard to the utilization of the labor of the occupied areas appear in Sauckel's ordinance of 22 August 1942:

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1. Reichsgesetzblatt, April 1942.

2. DNB, 30 August 1943.

The available labor forces are to be utilized in in the first instance to satisfy the important war need in Germany itself. In the occupied areas they are to be utilized according to the following priorities: (a) for necessary tasks of the troops, the Office of Occupation, and the Civil Offices; (b) for German armament production; (c) for food and agriculture; (d) for industrial tasks in the interests of Germany, but outside the production of armaments; (e) for industrial tasks in the interest of the population of the area concerned. The work week in the occupied areas is to be adjusted to that prevailing in Germany and as a rule is to be at least fifty-four hours.

Work must also continue on Sundays and holidays as needed. The highest possible productivity is to be assured by the introduction of piece work and premiums (Akkord und Prämienarbeit). The ordinance was explicitly declared to be applicable to prisoners of war and also enjoined the strictest labor discipline.<sup>1</sup>

#### C. German Workers in Occupied Territories

The German workers in occupied areas fall into three categories, the first two of which are apparently not under Sauckel's authority. These two categories are as follows:

(1) "The"Second Army," consisting of Organisation Todt, Reichsarbeitsdienst, and Technische Nothilfe.<sup>2</sup>

(2) German and non-German workers in undertakings directly responsible to the occupation authorities.

On the other hand, German and foreign workers of German concerns occupied in foreign areas fall under Sauckel's authority.<sup>3</sup>

The German Labor Front also exerts a direct influence over German workers in the occupied areas. Since German citizens (Reichsdeutsche) in Belgium come under the authority of the Auslandsorganisation (AO),<sup>4</sup> the German workers are manipulated by the officials of the German Labor Front of the AO. On the other hand, since the Arbeitsbereich (Sphere of

1. Der Deutsche Volkswirt, 4 September 1942.

2. This category is discussed at further length in the chapters on the Party and the "Second Army."

3. Der Deutsche Volkswirt, 11 September 1942.

4. Brüsseler Zeitung, 21 May 1943.

Operations) of Holland of the NSDAP ceased to be under the control of the AO,<sup>1</sup> the DAF (German Labor Front) appears to have had its own regional organization (Gauobmann, etc.) for Holland, comparable to that for each Gau in Germany.

Supervision of German women workers in occupied areas, both East and West, is exercised by the NS Frauenschaft under Reichsfrauenführerin Frau Scholz-Klink.<sup>2</sup>

## II. EVOLUTION OF POLICY

There is little evidence available in Western Europe regarding the development of German labor policy through the various stages of invasion and occupation. Fortunately, however, a clear picture of the development of controls is presented in the invasion of Russia.

### A. Operations Zone (Operationsgebiet)

As the German armies invaded Russia, available native labor was utilized for "the great general needs of the Armed Forces, of the Air Forces for the construction of air fields, of the Organisation Todt, of the Army Repair Shops, of the hospitals and offices, and, finally, in railroad construction."<sup>3</sup>

This labor was paid by the Armed Forces according to the wage scales then prevailing in Germany. When control of native labor was taken over by other German agencies, as will be described below, the wages were reduced to a level more consistent with Nazi conceptions of the Russian worker. However, the Germans paid higher salaries to Russian professional men than they had received under the Soviet "because we have an interest in treating Ukrainians, Russians, etc., in leading activities as well possible (tunlichst bevorzugt)."<sup>4</sup>

1. Allgemein Handelsblad, 7 June 1943, in News Digest, #1190.

2. Kölnische Zeitung, 21 January 1943.

3. Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, 30 June 1943.

4. Der Arbeitseinsatz in den neu besetzten Ostgebieten, von Ministerialdirigent Dr. Rachner zur Zeit Kriegsverwaltungschef in Wirtschaftsstab Ost, in RABl. 1942, #7 (March 5) V-pp. 130-3, M. Roll #202.

B. Rear Army or Communications Zone (Rueckwaertiges Heeresgebiet)

As the Operations Zone was pushed eastward into Russia, there developed between it and the German frontier a Rear Army or Communications Zone. German civil servants from the Labor Administration now appeared as Military Administration Officials (Kriegsverwaltungsbeamten) of the Military Economic Staff East (Wehrwirtschaftsstab Ost). It had been anticipated that native agencies and personnel would be available for the administration of labor under German direction in the occupied area. Disappointed in this hope, the Germans found it necessary to establish their own Labor Office of a type already set up in the General Government. German-speaking natives were utilized as far as possible; this proved to be easier in the Baltic countries, where at least some buildings and remnants of native agencies were available, than in the area seized from Russia proper. Frequently Labor Offices were established and operated by a single German official. By the end of 1940 the number set up in the Occupied East had reached 140, manned by 522 German officials. Of these, 272 were occupied in the militarized sector, 250 in the Zone of Civil Administration. Of the 522, only 100 were derived from the upper ranks of the German bureaucracy (des hoeheren Dienstes).

Although the Labor Offices were established primarily in the Rear Army Zone (the western part of which was subsequently absorbed into the Zone of Civil Administration) actually they extended their operations almost to the front itself. "It is illuminating that the majority of the Offices of the Army only gradually (erst allmählich) became accustomed to the presence of Labor Offices in the Zone of Operations. Now, however, the infiltration of the Labor Offices for the assistance of all Offices of the Armed Forces in the occupied area is to be regarded as the natural thing."

The primary function of the Labor Office in the Occupied East was

the registration of native labor in the cities -- at first the unemployed and later those employed in factories or offices. The Labor Offices also served the immediate needs of the Armed Forces. It is of interest to note that the needs of the front were so great during the campaign of 1941 that all available German labor organizations -- Organisation Todt, Reich Labor Service, etc. -- had to be employed at the front itself, while all needs behind the front were met by the use of native labor. In addition to providing for Army needs, native labor was utilized for the agriculture, industry, and transportation of the occupied area.

Even in the summer of 1941, Recruiting Commissions (Anwerbekommissionen) of the Geschäftsgruppe Arbeitseinsatz of the Four Year Plan arrived to stimulate the Labor Offices in the recruitment of native labor for Germany. In two or three weeks of July and August the Labor Offices in Lithuania, together with the recruiting agents, dispatched 12,000 workers for agricultural labor in East Prussia. However, substantial numbers of workers ~~for agricultural labor~~ from the Occupied East first reached Germany in the spring of 1942.<sup>1</sup>

C. Zone of Civil Administration

As the front advanced still farther eastward, there was established the Zone of Civil Administration under Rosenberg as Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Areas. This Zone was divided into the Reich Commissariats<sup>a</sup> Ostland (the Baltic countries and White Ruthenia) and Ukraine. ✓  
As this Zone was set up, it took over the Labor Offices already established in this territory, with little change in their functions as will appear more clearly below.

Two incidental comments on the German labor authorities in the East may be added: First, the Germans themselves admit that the Russian prisoners of war were so weakened by malnutrition and the prevalence of spotted fever that little work could be exacted from them. Second, on the pretext

1. Völkischer Beobachter, 4 September 1942.

that all funds had been removed by the Soviet, the Germans provided no social insurance benefits for the workers in the occupied territory of Russia proper. In the Baltic countries some social insurance benefits were maintained although on a lower level than in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

### III. TERRITORIES WITH GERMAN ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR

#### A. Occupied Eastern Territories

In describing the structure and policy of German labor controls in the Occupied East, the Communications and Civil Administration Zones must be treated together for reasons which will become apparent.

1. The Economic Staff East in the Rear Army Zone. By the summer of 1942 the Economic Staff East had been well organized "in the area behind the front and in advance of the area of civil administration." The Economic Staff East is divided into four Economic Inspectorates (Wirtschaftsinspektionen). North, Center, and South (subsequently divided into two inspectorates, Don-Donets and Caucasus). Each inspectorate has five functional divisions, one of which is the Main Group Labor (Chefgruppe Arbeit). Regionally the inspectorates are divided into Economic Commands (Wirtschaftskommandos), each approximately the size of a German province. The Economic Commands are also divided functionally, one such division being the Group "Labor." Within the Group "Labor" are to be included the Labor Offices in the area of the particular Economic Command.

2. Labor Offices. By the end of 1942 the number of Labor Offices<sup>2</sup> in the Occupied East had grown from 140 at the end of 1941 to 286. Of these, 152 were located in the area of the Economic Staff East and the other 86 in the Reich Commissariats Ukraine and Ostland. There were 26 situated in the Ostland -- 6 in Esthonia, 5 in Latvia, 4 in Lithuania, and 11 in White Ruthenia; 37 in the Ukraine, subdivided among the General Districts (Generalbezirke) as follows: 11 in Brest-Litovsk<sup>5</sup>, 9 in

1. Rachner, op. cit. 4

2. Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung, 8 September 1942.

Zhitomir, 5 in Kiev, 5 in Dniepropetrovsk, and 7 in Nikolaiev. In the rural areas of the Ostland and Ukraine there were also 23 Labor Offices (Nebenstellen) which were under the joint supervision of the Economic Staff East and the Civil Administration.

The 283 Labor Offices were manned by 1,030 German officials, 200 in the Ostland, 450 in the Ukraine, and 380 in the Military Sector.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the 1,030 officials in the Labor Offices proper, there were also 670 German officials in the Recruiting Commissions which will be accounted for below. By the end of 1942 the number of Labor Offices in the Occupied East had grown to 286.<sup>2</sup>

The functions of the Labor Offices are described as follows:

"The most urgent and immediate task is to provide the troops with food supplies and all other urgent requirements from the economy of the occupied area, that is, not only with wheat, meat, etc., but also with timber needed for military purposes, stoves for trenches and blockhouses, windowpanes for military hospitals, fur coats for the mountain troops, etc. The second task is to restore the productive capacity of the area by developing industry and agriculture and thus to increase the German armament potential.<sup>3</sup> The Labor Offices "also fix wages and at the moment are occupied in setting up sickness insurance for the workers. They cooperate with the German Labor Front, which has begun to introduce occupational training and feeding of the workers at the plants (Werkverpflegung)."<sup>4</sup>

A further task of the Labor Offices was the recruitment of native labor for Germany, in which they were urged on by the Recruiting Commissions of Commissioner-General Sauckel.

3. Labor Allocation Staffs (Arbeitseinsatzstä.) As 1942 progressed, ✓

1. It must be emphasized that in the Occupied East Labor Exchange are manned entirely by German officials and are distinguished, in this report, from native agencies by being referred to as Labor Offices.
2. Frankfurter Zeitung, 15 December 1942.
3. DNB, 16 August 1943, citing the Völkischer Beobachter according to News Digest, 1215, B3.
4. Völkischer Beobachter, 4 September 1942.

Sauckel's foreign labor-recruitment service took definite form. In the Occupied East there were in operation two Labor Allocation Staffs, each of which was active in parts of both the Rear Army and Civil Administration Zones. The agent (Beauftragte) for the Reich Commissariat Ukraine and the territory of the Economic Inspectorates Don-Donets and Caucasus is State Counsellor Peuckert. The agent for the Reich Commissariat Ostland and the territory of the Economic Inspectorates Center and North is Dr. Boening, President of the Regional Labor Office of Stettin<sup>1</sup> and former President of the Main Division Social Administration in Holland. Under the direction of Peuckert and Boening the Recruiting Agencies operated together with the Labor Offices in securing "Eastern workers" for Germany. Each regional Labor Exchange in Germany has been allocated an area in the Occupied East from which to draw workers for its needs.<sup>2,3</sup>

The recruitment of workers for Germany and their employment for German or native needs has so much reduced the surplus labor reserves in the Occupied East that it has become necessary to introduce additional control measures. A labor card has been introduced in the Ostland in order better to keep track of the workers. In the Ukraine, compulsory labor service for both sexes born in the years 1922-25 has been established.<sup>3</sup>

B. The General Government

In the General Government no pretense is made of autonomous government, and labor is regarded as a purely German concern. The entire system of labor administration and controls is German in composition, with only a slight sprinkling of collaborationist elements at the bottom level.

1. Administration. At the top of the German hierarchy is the President of the General Government Hans Frank. Immediately following his assumption of office there was created the Department of Labor; whose Director since July 1943 has been Albert Stamm.

<sup>1</sup> Ostsee Zeitung, 1 August 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Frankfurter Zeitung, 17 April 1942.

<sup>3</sup> Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, 30 June 1943, DNB 8 May 1943, News Digest 1129.

Responsible for the control of labor within this Department are two sections: Labor Law and Labor Protection,<sup>1</sup> and Administration of Labor Supply (Arbeitseinsatzverwaltung der Gouvernement General).<sup>2</sup> This organization is under Dr. von Gschliesser.

Under the latter are the 21 Arbeitsämter (Labor Exchanges) with their Nebenstellen (Subsidiary Offices) and 300 Stützpunkte (Contact Agencies), created by decree on 22 and 23 February 1940.<sup>3</sup>

These Labor Offices constitute the hub of the entire Nazi system of labor controls. Here extensive files are kept on the ability and availability of the Polish population.

The most important function of these Labor Offices is the registration and recruitment of Polish labor for use in the General Government and in the Reich. In this they are aided by the SS and police units.<sup>4</sup>

Each Arbeitsamt also has a section for "labor protection and factory supervision" as a further means of control over labor in the General Government.

Exploitation of Polish labor is based on the decree of 26 October 1939,<sup>5</sup> introducing a compulsory work obligation for all Polish inhabitants of the General Government between eighteen and sixty years of age. As a further means of control a decree was issued on 22 February 1940<sup>6</sup> which prohibits all hiring, firing, or changing of jobs without permission of the Labor Offices.

2. Jews. On 26 October 1939,<sup>7</sup> compulsory labor (Arbeitszwang) for all Jews settled in the General Government was decreed. The Higher SS and Police Leader (Krieger) was directed to form them into compulsory labor battalions and issue all necessary regulations.<sup>8</sup>

1. DuPrel, Das Gouvernement General (1942), p.135.

2. Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, 19 March 1943.

3. VBGGP, 1940, I, p.82.

4. Verordnungsblatt der General Gouvernement Polen, 13 October 1942.

5. VBl. G.G., 1939, 6.

6. VBGGP, 1940, I, 80.

7. VBGGP, 1939, 6.

8. Ibid.

All newly immigrated Jews were required to register with the mayors, and Jews were forbidden to move from one community to another without written permission.<sup>1</sup>

Further, Jewish self-governing bodies (Judenräte) were given detailed orders, under threat of heavy penalties, to carry out this mobilization of their people and keep exact records for the use of the German authorities.<sup>2</sup>

3. Labor Service. Another means of control of labor in the General Government is the Baudienst, set up by decree of 1 December 1940, along the lines of the Reichsarbeitsdienst.<sup>3</sup> This organization is under the Department of the Interior (headed by Dr. Sibert), and is under the leadership of Heinrich Hinkel,<sup>4</sup> who is also liaison official of the Reichsarbeitsdienst. As the greater part of available young Polish manpower is either sent to the Reich or used in local industry and agriculture, only a small percentage of the authorized sixteen to sixty age-group is available for work with the Baudienst.

#### IV. TERRITORIES WITH LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR

The structural pattern of German labor controls in the occupied countries of Western Europe is in some respects similar to that in the Occupied Eastern Territories. There is a system of Labor Exchanges designed primarily to control native labor, as well as a system of Recruiting Agencies, the special function of which is to enlist workers for labor in Germany. Moreover, in the West as in the East the German controls operate under the general authority of the Commissioner General for Labor Supply, Sauckel, as seen in his decree of 22 August 1942.

The fundamental difference in the structural pattern between East and West is in the control of labor agencies. Although the authority of Sauckel is supreme in both areas, in the West there are intermediate

1. Decree of 11 December 1939 (VBGGP, p.231).

2. Order of 20 January 1940, in A. Weh, Das Recht des General Gouvernement.

3. VBGGP, 1940.

4. Krakauer Zeitung, 26 November 1942.

controls of Reich Commissars and Military Governors. In the East there is no pretense of autonomy. In the West, however, the Germans have endeavored to create an illusion of self-government in the various countries. The basic reasons for this distinction are discussed elsewhere.

The question arises as to how Sauckel's decrees are applied in the occupied areas. No evidence is available to indicate that Reich Minister Rosenberg issues ordinances in the Occupied Eastern territories to implement Sauckel's decrees. However, such ordinances are issued in Holland by Seyss-Inquart, in Belgium and Northern France by von Falkenhausen, and in France by Stulpnagel.

A. Belgium, Poland, and Northern France

The organizational pattern in the occupied West differs from that in the East in that the Labor Exchanges in the West are native agencies.

Native Administration. In Belgium and Northern France the Labor Exchanges are the local agencies of the Office National du Travail (ONT) of the Belgian Secretary-General for Labor and Social Welfare. In Holland the Regional Labor Exchanges (GAB) are under the Ryksarbeidsbureau (RAB) of the Dutch Secretariat-General of Social Affairs. There are 37 GAB's in the provinces, which in turn have 144 branch offices. These employ in all 4,500 people, of whom one-fourth are members of the Dutch Nazi Party (NSB).

a. Wages and Hours (Belgium). To deal with wages and conditions of Belgian labor at home, a Delegate General for Labor (Wouters) was created in the Belgian Secretariat-General for Labor and Social Welfare by a decree of 26 June 1941. The Delegate General is assisted by the Comités d'Experts Sociaux (Commissions of Social Experts), nominated by him from lists submitted both by employers' associations and by the UTMI (Union des Travailleurs Manuels et Intellectuels). ✓

b. Labor Front (Belgium). The UTMI is a pale Belgian shadow of the German Labor Front, which uses the UTMI to effect its purposes in Belgium and Northern France. Its only real function is to represent the "interests

of the workers" in Germany. To fulfill this function the UTMI is in constant touch with the DAF.<sup>1</sup> It has one Flemish and one Walloon Reichsverbindungsmann at the DAF center. These, in turn, are assisted by Gauverbindungsmänner wherever necessary.<sup>2</sup>

c. Wages and Hours (Holland). The same situation seems to exist in Holland. On 17 October 1942 a new labor decree<sup>3</sup> was announced that was to supersede all previous labor regulations concerning wage fixing, labor disputes, and collective agreements. In accordance with this decree a Bevollmächtigter für die Arbeit (C. J. van Rijst),<sup>4</sup> appointed by the Secretary-General for Social Affairs, was empowered to settle all labor questions, fix wages, and take the place of the State arbitrators. He was to be assisted by an Advisory Council (Raad van Bystand) composed of ten to twenty members, half employers and half employees. In the selection of this Advisory Council and in all important matters, he is to consult with the Dutch Labor Front (NAF).

d. Labor Front (Holland). The NAF is equipped with a supervisory machine in all the workshops of Holland by the institution of "Social Stewards." These men, selected from the workers, are supposed to be the representatives of the workers. Actually, they function as "observers," to report possible sabotage, slow-down methods, the general attitude of the employees toward the Nazi authorities, and, above all, the existence of surplus labor.<sup>5</sup>

Within Germany proper, the NAF maintains Vertrauensmänner (representatives) who are supposed to have a similar control over their Dutch fellow workers in Germany.

1. Vooruit (Ghent), 8 May 1943.

2. Le Soir, 30 November 1942, in News Digest #1017.

3. Review of Foreign Press, 3 May 1943; Ned. Dagbladen, 17 October 1942.

4. It is interesting to note that the appointment of Van Rijst was announced by Der Neue Tag of 2 May 1943 as having been made by Sauckel. This, however, seems most unlikely, as the decree expressly provides for the Bevollmächtigter's appointment and dismissal by the Secretary-General of Social Affairs. For the text of the decree see De Ned. Dagbladen, 17 October 1942.

5. The close connection between the NAF and the DAF may be seen from the fact that membership in the former is automatically converted to membership in the latter following the worker's arrival in Germany.

2. German Controls. Actually, of course, the Labor Exchanges in Holland, Belgium, and Northern France, although manned by natives, are manipulated by the German authorities to serve their own purposes. According to La Libre Belgique of 1 December 1942, M. Verwaeck, the Belgian Secretary-General for Labor, protested vigorously against the virtual German control of the Labor Offices. In a letter which caused his dismissal,<sup>1</sup> Verwaeck asserted that

ever since the publication of the ordinance of 6 March 1942, these Offices have had to submit to the instructions of the Feldkommandanturen and Oberfeldkommandanturen in connection with the particular application of this ordinance. . . . Even though the instructions as to Labor are given by the German authorities themselves, it is clear that the designations can only be made by the Offices (du Travail), whose function it is to direct the use of manpower, and to which the workers have to apply. . . . Therefore I can only conclude that the activities of the Labor Exchanges now come under German authority.

a. German Recruitment Offices (Belgium and Holland). The immediate instruments of German control over the native Labor Exchanges are the German Recruiting Agencies (Werbestellen), the primary function of which in both Western and Eastern Europe is to recruit workers for Germany. In Belgium and Northern France, the Recruiting Agencies often share the same buildings with the local Labor Exchange. Recruiting Agencies exist in eight of the large cities: Brussels, Antwerp, Courtrai, Liege, Ghent, Alost, and Malines. The Germans maintain one or more civilian officials of their own in the Belgian Labor Exchanges of many smaller towns: Tournai, Termonde, Bruges, Mons, Hasselt, Ostend, Louvain, Renaix, Nivelles, Ypres, Verviers, Namur, Thuin, Arlon, Huy, and Furnes.<sup>2</sup> In Holland there is a similar system of German agencies controlling the Labor Exchanges. In Holland private firms have also been used to recruit Dutch Labor for work in Germany.

b. The Wehrmacht in Belgium. Soon after the occupation of Belgium, 120 experienced officials of the Reich Labor Ministry were loaned to the Military Commander, von Falkenhausen.<sup>3</sup> Presumably, these officials were

1. ~~CGS 59888~~ and La Libre Belgique, 1 December 1942.

2. ~~CGS 22542-8~~.

3. Dr. Timm, "Der Einsatz Ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Deutschland," Reichsarbeitsblatt, 1941, #31.

attached to the Economic Department of Reeder, the German Chief of Civil Administration under von Falkenhausen. There is no evidence to suggest that these officials have subsequently been withdrawn from the authority of von Falkenhausen and Reeder to form a separate Arbeitseinsatzverwaltung directly under the orders of Sauckel. More probably, they remain a part of the German administrative structure in Belgium and Northern France and are divided among the various levels -- Oberfeldkommandanturen, Feldkommandanturen, etc. The Recruiting Offices undoubtedly belong to this part of the German Administration. Sauckel's requests for Belgian workers for Germany are given to von Falkenhausen. The latter's subordinates then determine quotas which are passed on to the Recruiting Agencies.

All workers who go to Germany voluntarily apply directly to the Recruiting Offices (Werbestelle) without passing through the Labor Exchanges. However, the Belgian offices have been ordered to send indiscriminately to the Werbestelle all persons seeking employment.<sup>1</sup>

The occupational authorities have often tried to pass the odious task of deporting labor on to the native administration, but without success. Thus in 1942 the College of Secretaries-General decided that it was impossible for the Belgian administration to cooperate in any way in the execution of the German forced labor decree.<sup>2</sup> Further, M. Romsee, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior, on 27 November 1942 informed all mayors and provincial governors that they need not lend their support to the German authorities in the execution of the compulsory labor decree.<sup>3</sup>

Local police and gendarmes are, therefore, not at the disposal of the German Werbestelle, who must use German military police for that purpose. However, a reliable report mentions that local Belgian police are forced to collaborate with the Feldgendarmen.<sup>4</sup>

C. The Reichskommissariat in Holland.

On the other hand, in Holland under Reichskommissar Seyss-Inquart, Sauckel appears to have won some direct sway over the German Labor Control officials. Prior to the appointment of Sauckel as Commissioner-General, one of the four subdivisions of Seyss-Inquart's administration, the Commissariat-General for Finance and Economy (Hans Fishböck), was responsible for the conscription of labor for the Reich. After Sauckel's appointment, however, German authority over Dutch labor for Germany was transferred from Fishböck to Fritz Schmidt, Commissar-General for Special Affairs (zur besonderen Verwendung). In September 1942, Schmidt was spoken of as the German Commissioner-General for Labor in Holland,<sup>1</sup> and the Kölnische Zeitung of 11 November announced his appointment as Beauftragte des Generalbevollmächtigten für Arbeitseinsatz in Holland. This position of Schmidt and its relation to Sauckel approximate those of Boening and Peuckert in the Occupied East.

The appointment of Schmidt is significant for two reasons. The fact that the appointment was made by Sauckel indicates that the latter's direct authority over labor controls in Holland has grown. Moreover, Schmidt was essentially a Party man. In addition to his post as Commissar-General, he was also head of the Arbeitsbereich Holland of the NSDAP. The growth of his authority in labor matters in Holland parallels the rise of Sauckel in Germany and another illustration of the growth of Nazi Party authority in labor questions.

Upon Schmidt's death on 25 June 1943 he was succeeded in his various capacities by Dienstleiter Willi Ritterbusch (another Nazi stalwart).

The Central German agency for the control of Dutch labor under the Commissariat-General for Special Tasks is the Hauptabteilung Soziale Verwaltung (H.S.V.), headed by D. Apitz,<sup>2</sup> which controls and supervises the Dutch

1. Voice of the Netherlands, 26 September 1942.

2. Weekly Intelligence Summary #37, 12 September 1943, Apitz succeeded Dr. Boening, Landesarbeitsamt President of Stettin and Beauftragte für den Arbeitseinsatz in the Reichskommissariat Ostland.

<sup>K</sup>  
Ryjsarbeidsbureau. This H.S.V., in turn, has four branches ( Aussenstellen) located in the north, south, center, and east of Holland (Rotterdam, 's Hertogenbusch, Utrecht, and Groningen). These Aussenstellen direct and control the regional Labor Exchanges. In addition to these bureaus, the Aussenstellen also employ the services of German Fachwerber (recruiting commissions), which are detailed to the local Labor Exchanges for supervision, and, in some cases, for interpretation of decrees.

C. France

In France, complete authority over labor is lodged in the Militärbefehlshaber (Stülpnagel), Labor decrees and laws are signed by him and are executed by German officials in the Occupied Zone, and by both German and local French officials in the Unoccupied Zone. His Oberfeld-, Feld-, Kreis-, and Orts- kommandanturen have been given authority to facilitate the recruitment of labor for Germany within the limits of their jurisdiction since February 1941.<sup>1</sup>

For actual administration, the Military Governor relies on his Verwaltungstab (headed by Dr. Schmidt), in whose name many decrees are issued. One of this Administrative Staff's three branches is devoted to Economics (under Dr. Michel) and it is this group that is primarily responsible for the control of labor.

Trained administrators for these tasks were secured from the Arbeitsministerium and particularly from the Arbeitseinsatzverwaltung.<sup>2</sup>

One of this Economic Division's ten sections, Gruppe Wi- VII, is responsible for the control of the recruitment of labor for Germany, and maintains 150<sup>3</sup> German Recruitment Offices (Werbstellen) in both zones.

These offices handled all the recruiting for Germany until the spring of 1942, when the recruitment drive was put into high gear. In June 1942, French employment offices were empowered by the Secretary of State for Labor to enroll "volunteers" in the same way as German offices. French officials were attached to German employment offices, and German officials to French

1. Reichsarbeitsblatt, 1941, #31.

2. Ibid., 1942, #2.

3. ~~At the end of 1942, in OSS 22542C, which lists the addresses of the Exchanges.~~

offices, to "coordinate" recruitment efforts.<sup>1</sup>

This system of recruitment of individuals was largely displaced six months later by the practice of importing entire industrial teams. These teams, or crews, to be transferred to Germany are led by engineers and master foremen (one engineer per 50 workers, one master foreman per 25 workers).<sup>2</sup>

The selection of these teams (which often resulted in the "closing down" of many industrial establishments)<sup>3</sup> is the task of a mixed Franco-German board that meets in Paris. On the German side are the military representatives of Sauckel and Speer,<sup>4</sup> attached to the staff of the Military Governor.

The French are represented by the delegates of Laval's Ministries of Labor (Lagardelle) and Industrial Production (Bichelone).<sup>5</sup>

The German military authorities, however, reserve the right to determine the number of workers to be transferred without consulting the French representatives.<sup>6</sup> Only the executive of the recruitment and transfer are planned by the Mixed Control Board, and execution is entrusted to 17 regional Recruiting Commissions (one for each French economic district). These regional committees, in turn, act through the Labor Exchanges which <sup>make</sup> <sup>with</sup> contact the factories concerned. As a further Nazi control, the punishment of firms employing workers reserved for Germany or France is left to German Military Tribunals.<sup>7</sup>

#### D. Denmark

There is little material available on the state of current German labor

1. "Recruitment of French Labor for Germany," International Labor Review, March 1943.
2. NZZ, as of 20 October 1942.
3. Other workers dismissed on this account had to register at a German employment office. As a further check to insure that these workers would be conscripted, no food cards or unemployment relief were to be issued to workers remaining idle for more than two weeks -- a measure which inevitably drove them into the arms of the German recruitment offices.
4. The organization of the Militärbefehlshaber contains a staff of the Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsstab (WiRu), assigned to the French territory. In charge of this section is Lt. General Barckhausen.
5. NZZ, 21 October 1942.
6. Ibid.
7. Radio Paris, 26 May 1943 in BBC Daily Digest, 27 May 1943.

controls in Denmark since the recent uprisings.

In the past, however, the Danish Labor Ministry and its Labor Exchanges exercised a high degree of independence, otherwise unknown in occupied Europe, without any serious interference on the part of the occupation authorities.

German influence over Danish labor was exerted through the German Labor Office and its branches, which recruited some 35,000 workers for Germany, and "Det Danske Arbejdsfailllesskat," a Nazi-minded workers' association which cooperates with the DAF.

E. Norway

German controls over Norwegian labor differ somewhat from the pattern generally adhered to in the remainder of occupied Europe in that they are exercised by three roughly parallel organizations: (1) the native collaborationist government; (2) the Reichskommissariat; (3) the Wehrmacht. Of these, the last two create and define German policy, whereas the former is the instrument of that policy.

1. Native Controls. In Vidkun Quisling's government, control over labor is exercised through the Ministries of Labor and Labor Service, respectively headed by T. Hustad and A. Stang. The latter is responsible for the Norwegian Youth Labor Services, headed by General Frolich-Hanssen. This institution is closely modeled after and cooperates with the Reichsarbeitsdienst, represented in Norway by Generalarbeitsführer Bormann and von Maltitz. The most active agency in the Labor Ministry is the Employment Division, headed by Gullberg, which directs the local Labor exchanges.

2. The Reichskommissariat. In Joseph Terboven's Reichskommissariat the direction of German labor policy for Norway is in the hands of Senator Carlo Otte, head of the Department of Economics, and Ministerialrat Henne, head of the Engineering and Technical Section.

The latter occupies a position similar to that of Fishböck in Holland. As head of the Engineering and Technical Section, he is directly responsible to Terboven, but at the same time he is head of the Organisation Todt in Norway, and in this capacity he is directly responsible only to Reichsminister Speer. As the Organisation Todt

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employs a considerable percentage of the Norwegian labor supply, as well as tens of thousands of workers from the rest of Europe, his position in the formation of labor policy is such that he is unofficially referred to as the Commissioner-General for Labor Allocation.<sup>1</sup>

Henne gives orders to the Norwegian Labor Ministry through Dr. Feuchtinger, leader of the Einsatzgruppe Viking of the Organisation Todt, which deals with questions of labor supply.<sup>2</sup> Feuchtinger is also liaison officer with the NSDAP in Norway in his capacity as head of the Party's Technical Department of the Landesgruppe Norwegen.<sup>3</sup> Control over labor in general is lodged in Senator Carlo Otte, head of the Department of Economics. Otte acts upon the Norwegian Ministry of Labor through his Secretariat for Labor and Social Affairs, reported to be headed by either SS Oberführer R. Kasper or von Maltitz.

3. The Wehrmacht. Although the Army, commanded in Norway by von Falkenhorst, is equal theoretically to the Reichskommissariat, it often sends requests for labor for military purposes directly to the Reichkommissariat's Section for Labor and Social Affairs, which in turn passes the requests to the Norwegian Ministry of Labor. In labor matters, the Wehrmacht acts through the Wehrwirtschaftsstab Norwegen (Economic Planning Staff of the Armed Forces for Norway), which is the military equivalent of the Economics Department of the Reichkommissariat.

1. OSS 444858.

2. Cf. confiscated documents in OSS 39108.

3. Op. cit.

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